THE ARYAN PATH

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EDITORIAL REPRINT

The Buddha and His Words of Healing

BRIAN G. COOPER

Luther: His Life and Significance

G. S. BALARAMA GUPTA

The Origin and Development of Humanism

NEVILLE BRAYBROOKE

Tennyson's Home in the Isle of Wight

ABINASH CHANDRA BOSE

Loving Union (*Samjnana*)

Vedic verses translated

BOOKS REVIEWED INCLUDE

The Indian Mind; *Jñāneshwari*; *The Essene Heritage*; *The Diary of a Mystic*; *The History of Philosophy in Islam*; *The Rubaiyyat of Omar Khayyam*, a new translation; Arnold J. Toynbee's *Between Maule and Amazon*

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int out the 'Way'
ever dimly and lost among the host —
loes the Evening Star
hose who tread their path in darkness.

Editor:
SOPHIA WADIA

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THE ARYAN PATH

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THE ARYAN PATH

Point out the "Way" — however dimly, and
lost among the host — as does the evening star
to those who tread their path in darkness.

— *The Voice of the Silence*

VOL. XXXIX MAY 1968 No. 5

The Buddha and His Words of Healing

[In this month fall two sacred anniversaries — White Lotus Day, which marks the passing of H. P. Blavatsky, and Buddha Purnima, the threefold anniversary of the Birth, Enlightenment, and *Mahāparinirvāṇa of* Gautama the Buddha. Both are observed with reverence by students of Theosophy. In commemoration of them, we print below a series of quotations: the first is H. P. Blavatsky's moving tribute to Gautama the Buddha; the rest are the Tathāgata's own words of healing for soul, mind, and body. We take refuge in the Wisdom they transmit, and in the Custodians of that Wisdom.—ED.]

AS TO his being one of the true and undeniable SAVIOURS of the World, suffice it to say that the most rabid orthodox missionary, unless he is hopelessly insane, or has not the least regard even for historical truth, cannot find one smallest accusation against the life and personal character of Gautama, the "Buddha." Without any claim to divinity, allowing his followers to fall into atheism, rather than into the degrading superstition of deva or idol-worship, his walk in life is from the beginning to the end, holy and divine. During the 45 years of his mission it is blameless and pure as that of a god — or as the latter should be. He is a perfect example of a divine, godly man. He reached Buddhaship — i.e., complete enlightenment — entirely by his own merit and owing to his own individual exertions, no god being supposed to have any personal merit in the exercise of goodness and holiness. Esoteric teachings claim that he renounced Nirvāṇa and gave up the Dharmakāya vesture to remain a "Buddha of compassion" within the reach of the miseries of this world. And the religious philosophy he left to it has produced for over 2,000 years generations of good and unselfish men. His is the only *absolutely bloodless* religion among all the existing religions: tolerant and liberal, teaching universal compassion and charity, love and self-sacrifice, poverty and contentment with one's lot, whatever it may be. No persecutions, and enforce-

ment of faith by fire and sword, have ever disgraced it. No thunder-and-lightning-vomiting god has interfered with its chaste commandments; and if the simple, humane, and philosophical code of daily life left to us by the greatest Man-Reformer ever known, should ever come to be adopted by mankind at large, then indeed an era of bliss and peace would dawn on Humanity.

—H. P. BLAVATSKY: *The Theosophical Glossary*

Thus spake the Exalted One,

"Brethren, I am a Brahmin given to begging. My hands are ever pure, I am wearing my last body. Incomparable Physician and Surgeon am I.

Ye are mine own true sons, brethren, born of my mouth, born of Dhamma, heirs of the Dhamma, not heirs of worldly things.

—*Iti-vuttaka, 100*

Now at one time a certain brother was suffering from dysentery and lay where he had fallen down in his own excrement.

And the Exalted One was going His rounds of the lodgings, with the venerable Ananda in attendance, and came to the lodging of that brother.

Now the Exalted One saw that brother lying where he had fallen in his own excrement, and seeing him He walked towards him, came to him, and said: "Brother what ails you?"

"I have dysentery, Lord."

"But is there anyone taking care of you, brother?"

"No, Lord."

"Why is it, brother, that the brethren do not take care of you?"

"I am useless to the brethren, Lord: therefore the brethren do not care for me."

Then the Exalted One said to the venerable Ananda: "Go you, Ananda, and fetch water. We will wash this brother."

"Yes, Lord," replied the venerable Ananda to the Exalted One. When he had fetched the water, the Exalted One poured it out, while the venerable Ananda washed that brother all over. The Exalted One taking him by the head and the venerable Ananda taking him by the feet, together, they laid him on the bed.

Then the Exalted One, in this connection and on this occasion, gathered the Order of Brethren together, and questioned the brethren saying:

"Brethren, is there in such and such a lodging a brother who is sick?"

"There is, Lord."

"And what ails that brother?"

"Lord, that brother has dysentery."

"But, brethren, is there anyone taking care of him?"

"No, Lord."

"Why not? Why do not the brethren take care of him?"

"That brother is useless to the brethren, Lord. That is why the brethren do not take care of him."

"Brethren, ye have no mother and no father to take care of you. If ye will not take care of each other, who else, I ask, will do so? Brethren, he who would wait on me, let him wait on the sick.

If he have a teacher, let his teacher take care of him so long as he is alive, and wait for his recovery. If he have a tutor or a lodger, a disciple or a fellow-lodger or a fellow-disciple, such should take care of him; if he do not so it shall be reckoned an offence."

—*Vinaya Mahāvagga,* viii. 26

Thus have I heard:

Once the Exalted One was staying near Rajagaha in Great Grove, at the Squirrels' Feeding ground.

On that occasion the venerable Vakkali was staying in the Potter's shed, being sick, afflicted, stricken with a sore disease.

Now the venerable Vakkali called to his attendants, saying: "Come hither, friends! Go ye to the Exalted One, and, in my name worshipping at the feet of the Exalted One, say unto Him:

"Lord, the brother Vakkali is sick, afflicted, stricken with a sore disease. He worships at the feet of the Exalted One. Well were it, Lord, if the Exalted One would visit brother Vakkali, out of compassion for him."

The Exalted One consented by His silence. Taking bowl and robe, He went to the venerable Vakkali. On arriving the Master said — "I trust, Vakkali, that life is endurable. I trust pain is retreating."

"Not for me, Revered Sir; life is not endurable; severe pain attacks me; it does not retreat, it will not retreat," cried Vakkali.

"I trust you are not restless," said the Buddha.

"On the contrary, Sir, I am restless, very restless."

"Vakkali, venerable Vakkali, I trust you are not finding the Dhamma to be faulty," said Buddha.

"No indeed, Master; how can there be fault in the Dhamma of the Buddha?" replied Vakkali.

"Then, why this restlessness and querulousness with what is?"

"For such a long time I have desired to look upon the Exalted One; pain makes me restless and yearning for a sight of you makes me querulous," said Vakkali.

"Enough, Vakkali, enough!" exclaimed the Enlightened One. "What

use is restlessness over your foul body and what querulousness over my foul carcass? Hear this — Whoever sees the Truth sees me. That is the great Healing-Mantra, the Word of Power that heals all ill."

So saying the Enlightened One left Vakkali meditating.

"There are these three sorts of sick men, brethren, to be found in the world. What three?

"Herein, brethren, a sick man, whether he obtain proper diet or not, whether he obtain proper medicines or not, whether he obtain proper nursing or not, does not recover from his sickness.

"Herein, brethren, a sick man, whether he obtain all these things or not, nevertheless recovers from his sickness.

"Herein, brethren, a sick man, though he receive not any of these things, recovers from his sickness.

"In like manner, brethren, there are three sorts of men to be found in the world who may be compared to these three types of sick men. What are the three?

"Herein, brethren, one gets the chance or does not get the chance to see the Tathagata; gets or does not get the chance of hearing the Dharma-Discipline proclaimed by the Tathagata; he does not enter upon the way of life that is perfect in good deeds.

"Herein, brethren, one may or may not get the chance of seeing the Tathagata; may or may not get the chance of hearing the Dharma-Discipline proclaimed by the Tathagata; but does, nevertheless, enter upon the way of life that is perfect in good deeds.

"Herein, brethren, one gets the chance, does not fail to get the chance of seeing the Tathagata; gets the chance, does not fail to get the chance of hearing the Dharma-Discipline proclaimed by the Tathagata; and does not enter on the way of life that is perfect in good deeds.

"... Now, brethren, it is on account of this last that the preaching of the Dharma is enjoined. It is on this account that the Dharma should be preached to others."

—*Anguttara Nikāya*

"There are five characteristics, brethren, possessed of which a sick man is hard to nurse.

"(1) He will not take remedies; (2) He observes no moderation in taking remedies; (3) He does not follow the drugs prescribed; (4) He does not disclose the real nature of his ailment to the nurse who desires his welfare and does not report whether his sickness wanes or waxes or stands still; (5) Lastly, when he is impatient of his bodily feelings

that arise — painful, sharp, cutting, bitter, grievous, unpleasant, life-destroying.

"Such, brethren, are the five characteristics possessed of which a sick man is hard to nurse.

"And the five characteristics (which make him easy to nurse) are the opposites of these.

"These are five characteristics, brethren, possessed of which one is of no use as a nurse.

"(1) One is incapable of prescribing medicine. (2) One does not know the proper remedies, what is good and what is bad; one administers what is unfit and does not administer what is fit. (3) One nurses the patient out of greed and not out of charity. (4) One is squeamish about the removal of excrement, saliva, or vomit. (5) One is incapable of teaching the patient from time to time with pious talk, incapable of cheering him, of stirring him, and comforting him.

"Such, brethren, are the five characteristics possessed of which one is of no use as a nurse.

"And the five characteristics (which make one a good nurse) are the opposites of these."

—*Anguttara Nikāya*

Once the Exalted One was staying among the Sakyans at Kapilavatthu, in Figtree Park.

On that occasion a number of brethren were busy making robes for the Exalted one; "for," said they, "When the three months are over, the Exalted One, His robes being complete, will go forth on His rounds of preaching."

Now Mahanama, the Sakyan, heard this; he went to the Exalted One, saluted Him, and sat down at one side. So seated, Mahanama, the Sakyan, said:

"I hear it said, Lord, that a number of the brethren are busy making robes for the Master, saying, 'When the robes are complete, at the end of the three months, the Exalted One will go forth on His rounds of preaching.' Lord, we have never heard from the Exalted One's own lips how a good layman who is sick and in pain and grievously afflicted, should be cheered by another discreet lay-brother."

"A discreet lay-brother, Mahanama, who is sick should be cheered by another good lay-brother with the Four Comfortable Assurances, thus: "He is there, the Exalted One, the Arahat, Buddha Supreme. Take comfort, good sir, in the Dharma and in the Order of Brethren. Likewise there are the virtues dear to the Aryans, kept unbroken and unsoiled which

tend to balance of mind.

"Then, again, Mahanama, suppose the sick man says, 'I have a longing for my parents,' the other should reply, 'My dear good man, you are subject to death. 'Twere just as well for you to abandon all longing for parents or progeny.'

"And so also should he speak in respect of the five pleasures of sense. Suppose the sick man say, 'I have a longing for this or that,' the other should say, 'My friend, heavenly delights are more excellent than pleasures of the five senses and there are more to choose from. 'Twere well for you to remove your mind from human joys and fix it on the joys of the Four Great Deva Kings.

'But please remember more excellent than those joys of the Four are the joys of the Suite of the Thirty-three. But better to fix the mind on the Brahma World.'

"And then if the sick man's mind is so fixed, let the other say: 'My good sir, even the Brahma World is impermanent, not lasting, subject to personality. Well for you, dear sir, if you raise your mind above the Brahma World and concentrate on cessation from the personal.'

"And if the sick man says he has done so, then I declare, Mahanama, that there is no difference between the lay-brother who can thus aver and the disciple whose mind is freed from the asavas; that is to say, so far as emancipation goes."

—*Samyutta Nikāya*

THEREFORE, Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves, be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp; hold fast to the Truth as a refuge. Look not for a refuge in anyone beside yourselves. And those, Ananda, who either now or after I am dead shall be a lamp unto themselves, shall betake themselves to no external refuge, but holding fast to the Truth as their lamp, and holding fast to the Truth as their refuge, shall not look for refuge to anyone beside themselves — it is they who shall reach the very topmost Height. But they must be anxious to learn.

—THE BUDDHA

BRIAN G. COOPER

Luther: His Life and Significance

[Mr. Brian G. Cooper is familiar to our readers by his many articles and letters, concerned especially with the history and current developments of Christianity and its dialogue with other religions. Last year saw the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Luther's famous ninety-five theses. He gives in this article a sympathetic outline of Luther's life and his approach to Christian scripture and the Christian life.—ED.]

ON 31 OCTOBER 1517, Martin Luther, a young monk of the Augustinian Eremite order at Erfurt in southern Germany, nailed upon the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg ninety-five theses against the Pope's abuse of indulgences. It could have been yet another of those interminable quarrels between the monastic orders and the Papacy which plagued medieval Christendom. Yet it was not to be so. This public act of defiance of the head of the Roman Catholic power launched a momentous drama of religious revolution whose repercussions are still being worked out in our own day. Luther's Reformation changed the course of European and world history, and October 1967 marked the four hundred and fiftieth anniversary, celebrated by Protestant Christians across the face of the globe, and especially in East Germany. Throughout 1967, and particularly during October, Wittenberg, Erfurt, Worms, Eisenach, and the other cities so intimately associated with Luther's turbulent life (1483–1546) were thronged by pilgrims from many countries attending the Lutheran anniversary festivals specially arranged by the Church and State authorities. It is fitting to reconsider the life and abiding significance of Martin Luther;[1] for the Reformation he began undoubtedly ranks among the most decisive events in mankind's religious quest, and his message is of fundamental concern to all men of faith and true spirituality whether or not they are Christian or Protestant.

Born the son of a miner at Eisleben, the young Martin was schooled at Magdeburg and Eisenach, having among his teachers those famous late medieval reformist Christians, the Brethren of the Common Life. His powerful intellectual gifts early marked him out for the academic and ecclesiastic callings, virtually inseparable at that time in Europe. Erfurt, then the most brilliant and stimulating of all Germany's univer-

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[1] For Luther's life:

R. H. BAINTON: *Here I Stand* (1950); E. G. RUPP: *The Righteousness of God* (1953); R. H. FIFE: *The Revolt of Martin Luther* (1957)

For his works:

B. J. KIDD (ed.): *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation* (1911); O. SCHEEL (ed.): *Dokumente zu Luthers Entwicklung* (1929)

sities, was the scene of his studies in philosophy from 1501, and he became a devotee of the works of William of Occam. In response to what he believed a sudden divine call, the young Luther went into the Augustinian Eremite monastery at Erfurt in 1505, where he underwent the strict training of that rigorous order. Yet his renunciation of the world could not for long keep him from the academic life. Ordained priest in 1507, he plunged himself wholeheartedly into theological studies, and by 1512 was Professor of Biblical Literature at Wittenberg University.

The years 1512 to 1517 were to prove decisive. For Luther the academic study of religion was not enough. It could only have value if the individual experienced a real and valid knowledge of, and relationship with, God himself. As a monk, priest, and scholar, he had for many years devoted himself assiduously to those ritualistic forms and ascetic exercises prescribed by late medieval Roman Catholicism for the satisfaction of the questing soul. Luther had not found satisfaction. His honest spirit required it; for he was not only a man of enormous intellectual ability, powerful debating skill, and immense energy, but also one of a supremely sincere spiritual integrity which had to know the peace and assurance of living within the certainty of God's purpose and providence. He had entered the priesthood and cloister as much for his own spiritual progress as for the religious benefit of others; he had rigorously practised chastity, poverty, obedience, fastings, vigils, and the mortifications of the flesh; he had responded to the mystical illuminations of the inexorable Deity as revealed in a lightning flash at Stotternheim in 1505 and when he celebrated the Mass as a priest for the first time at Erfurt; yet no method gave the sense of inner tranquillity. Luther was overwhelmed by the sense that he was unable to attain to the divine calling, unable to satisfy God. Of Jesus of Nazareth's commands, he wrote: "This word is too high and too hard that anyone should fulfil it. This is proved, not merely by our Lord's word, but by our own experience and feeling."[2]

A visit to Rome in 1510 brought him face to face with the corruptions and secularity of the Renaissance Papacy, which scandalized him. Back in Wittenberg he reflected at length on the condition of his own soul and became increasingly convinced of the inability of either his own spiritual efforts, or the superfluous merits of the saints as taught by the Church, to safeguard him from the wrath of the all-consuming, all-judging Deity. Luther's sincerity and honesty of spiritual quest were heightened by his own depression-prone personality and tendency to introspection: he experienced *Anfechtungen.* (A word for which there is no precise English equivalent. "It may be a trial sent by God to test man, or an assault by

[2] BAINTON: *Op. cit.*, p. 34

the Devil to destroy man. It is all the doubt, turmoil, pang, tremor, panic, despair, desolation, and desperation which invade the spirit of man."[3]) His Biblical studies brought him to a point of illumination. He had to lecture on the Psalms, the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Epistle to the Romans. Immersing himself in the Pauline theological system, meditating for many hours on the problem of how limited and fallible man can be acceptable to the all-perfect Deity, pondering at length the meaning and the mystery of the death of Christ, Luther eventually derived from the latter a powerful reality of the mercy of God. During the winter of 1512-13, his quest for certainty centred around *Romans* I. 17: "For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, the just shall live by faith."

Luther's own understanding of "faith" was equivalent to a mystical experience:

> Night and day I pondered until I saw the connection between the justice of God and the statement that "the just shall live by his faith." Then I grasped that the justice of God is that righteousness by which through grace and sheer mercy God justifies us through faith. Thereupon I felt myself to be reborn and to have gone through open doors into paradise. The whole of Scripture took on a new meaning, and whereas before the "justice of God" had filled me with hate, now it became to me inexpressibly sweet in greater love.
>
> ... If you have a true faith that Christ is your Saviour, then at once you have a gracious God, for faith leads you in and opens up God's heart and will, that you should see pure grace and overflowing love. This it is to behold God in faith that you should look upon his fatherly, friendly heart, in which there is no anger nor ungraciousness. He who sees God as angry does not see him rightly but looks only on a curtain, as if a dark cloud had been drawn across his face.[4]

Luther had come to his classical Protestant position of direct assurance of a relationship with God through faith. From 1513 to 1517 he developed this "new Pauline theology," but his teaching that all men can have immediate access to God through the Love of Christ did not at once overtly trouble the ecclesiastical authorities, even though so personal an interpretation of the Christian religion was implicitly opposed to the elaborate clerical and sacramental systems of medieval Roman Catholicism. Luther had come to personal spiritual understanding and, wanting to share it with others, he felt himself impelled to oppose those abuses of Christianity which, in the Papal system of his day, overlaid and obscured the truth as he saw it. Indulgences — the sale of heavenly merits

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 31
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50

and remission of sins for money used for such projects as crusades, the rebuilding of bridges, or Papal court expenses — were a major abuse of the early-sixteenth-century Catholic Church and were denounced by its finer spirits such as Erasmus. When Pope Leo x ("as elegant and as indolent as a Persian cat" — Bainton) issued the Indulgence of 1515–17 to rebuild St. Peter's and, unknown to the mass of the populace, repay the political debts of the Archbishop of Mainz, and when the experienced indulgence-vendor Tetzel went throughout southern Germany proclaiming

> As soon as the coin in the coffer rings,
> The soul from purgatory springs,

Luther made his attack from which there was to be no going back. His Wittenberg Theses of 1517 condemned both the abuse of indulgences and the Papal claim to control the fate of the souls of the dead, and asserted uncompromisingly: "peace comes in the word of Christ through faith." The power of the new printing press and national feeling in Germany determined that this could be no mere academic theological squabble, and the more Luther's affirmations aimed at purifying the Church became caught up in the political cross-currents of his day, the more he became convinced of the primacy of Scripture and Reason and the falsity of the claims of Papal authority. By 1519 Luther was under strong Papal pressure to retract his errors and refrain from further theological exposition, his *Resolutiones* (1518) having explicitly set forth "justification by faith." He informed Cardinal Cajetan, Papal legate in Germany, that he would retract nothing unless proved in error from Scripture. The publication of three major works in 1520 precipitated a crisis involving both the Papal authority in Germany and the Imperial political establishment. In his *Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* Luther called upon the secular princes to reform a Church whose abuses called its validity into question; his *Babylonic Captivity of the Church* asserted the right of individual Christian conscience to freedom from priestly power, and thus set forth what was to become one of the Reformation's main rallying-cries; his *The Freedom of a Christian Man* expounded in popular terms the principles of freedom in Christ and the duties of self-discipline and service to others as the fruits of faith. His public disputes at Leipzig with John Eck, leading theologian for Catholic orthodoxy in Germany, had already driven Luther to affirming that religious salvation was not confined to those who upheld the supremacy of Catholicism; indeed, the Papacy was the Antichrist. Formally excommunicated by the Pope in January 1521, Luther was summoned to the Imperial Diet at Worms in April to appear before the Emperor Charles v, where he was asked to recant. He refused. "Here I stand: I can do no other," he is reported to

have said. At that moment the unity of Western Christendom was finally shattered; soon the Protestant Reformation had exploded not only all over Germany, but all over Europe, too.

Powerful friends among the German princes who resented Papal interference in German affairs, and a general sympathy for reform among the populace, saved Luther from destruction at the hands of the Catholics. In hiding at Wartburg castle, he supervised the translation of the Bible into German, which had profound and lasting repercussions on German life and literature, and began a movement for the Bible in the indigenous tongues of Europe which soon destroyed the supremacy of Latin and made the Bible part of the living literary inheritance of much of Europe. By the mid-1520s the Reformation movement had ceased to be under Luther's sole control, and a whole spectrum of Protestant theology emerged ranging from Luther through Zwingli and, later, Calvin to the Anabaptist prophets of Christian social radicalism. In 1525 Germany was torn apart by the Peasants' War, a revolt which Luther's own religious revolt had helped to inspire and with whose grievances he was not unsympathetic; but he abhorred social revolution and his condemnation of the peasants permanently alienated most of them from the Lutheran Church established by the princes in many parts of Germany, and defended by them in religious civil wars with Catholicism, of which the Thirty Years' War (1618–48) was to be the final manifestation. In Europe as a whole, Lutheranism was to achieve complete ascendancy in Scandinavia and some influence in Austria and Hungary; the more thoroughgoing Protestantism of John Calvin came to dominate in Scotland, Holland and Switzerland, and to have much influence in France; in England a somewhat hybrid form of Protestantism came to prevail in the Church of England. Roman Catholicism, shocked into action by the collapse of the unity of Western Christendom, underwent reform and retrenchment as decided at the Council of Trent and put into effect in the Counter Reformation. As a consequence of the Reformation Luther unleashed, the entire political and religious map of Europe was altered, the nationalist ideal immensely furthered, and popular social forces unleashed, with consequences down to our own day.

Worship in the vernacular; the ending of clerical celibacy; the collapse of German monasticism; the emphasis on "good works" as an essential expression of Christian faith though not the cause of faith; the Protestant emphasis on personal "vocation," a vast yet unsystematic theological output (Calvin was the systemizer of Reformation theology); the writing of many hymns, of which *"Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott"* (A Mighty Fortress is our God) ranks as the most famous; all stand among Luther's

achievements within the total Reformation process. On the debit side, his undue stress on obedience to civil power had a damaging effect within German political life until our own times. Nor did he champion that total freedom of religious enquiry which his revolt against Rome logically implied. In these respects he must be understood as a child of his times.

Of course, Luther wrote and acted with the turbulence and violence characteristic of that convulsive epoch: nationalism, economic progress, rising capitalism, and the widening of European horizons with the voyages of discovery made it a time of profound change. Yet though interacting with all these upheavals, the sixteenth-century European Protestant Reformation which Luther began was supremely a breakthrough in man's ongoing spiritual quest. In the narrower sense, Lutheranism "was a discovery of healing for the deep scars of guilt and self-centredness through a simple trust in the merciful concern of God. Lutheran piety is still fed by this warm and joyful appropriation of God's mercy in Christ perpetually offered."[5] In the wider sense, "as 'protestants' against the central authority of the medieval world, the Reformers prepared the way for both religious and political freedom; they established a principle of individualism that was to have an epoch-making career."[6]

The religious principle of the supreme authority of the individual conscience, rather than the institutional legacy of global Lutheran and other Protestant confessionalisms, must rank as Luther's supreme legacy. His triumphant affirmation of the self-authenticating spiritual quest of the pilgrim soul is a greater and more permanent inspiration than any of his theological polemics.

Luther's definition of the Christian life surely has a value for all seekers after religious truth:

> Here is the truly Christian life, here is faith really working by love, when a man applies himself with joy and love to the works of that freest servitude, in which he serves others voluntarily and for nought, himself abundantly satisfied in the fullness and riches of his own faith.[7]

BRIAN G. COOPER

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[5] J. NICHOLS: *The Meaning of Protestantism* (1959), p. 60

[6] H. J. MULLER: *The Uses of the Past* (1952), p. 262

[7] J. L. DUNSTAN (ed.): *Protestantism* (1961), p. 44

G. S. BALARAMA GUPTA

The Origin and Development of Humanism

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In this essay he gives us a succinct historical outline of the development of humanistic ideas and of the different schools by which they have been expressed. The humanist concern for actual living human beings must appeal even to those who cannot accept the definition of man adopted by some schools of humanism — the definition which confines man to "natural man." Surely, it is possible to reconcile a concrete concern for human welfare with a transcendent view of man's ultimate destiny.—ED.]

HUMANISM as a way of life for the contemporary man has its devotees all the world over, and its sway over the intellectuals of the twentieth century is profound. Dr. P. T. Raju, an eminent Indian thinker, declares that the present age is an age of humanism.[1]

The history of humanism is long and involved, and it continues to entertain several and diverse connotations. However, most humanists start with at least an allusion to Protagoras, whose popular, if controversial, dictum, "Man is the measure of all things," has been so influential that it has successfully persuaded some critics to give the appellation of neo-Protagoreanism to humanism. Simply interpreted, the dictum admits of no distinction between sense and reason. Sensory perception is the only test of truth, and reason is ruled out of court. So there remains nothing like objective truth. What is true to me is true to me and what is true to you is true to you. This inevitably results in nothing but stark anarchy and utter chaos. W. T. Stace tries to give an admissible interpretation:

> "Man is the measure of all things"; certainly, but man as a rational being, not man as a bundle of particular sensations, subjective impressions, impulses, irrational prejudices, self-will, mere eccentricities, oddities, foibles, and fancies.[2]

Whether one agrees with this interpretation or not, the aphorism makes it amply clear that with Protagoras Greek philosophy veered from theology and cosmology to man and thus it sowed the seed of humanism which was to grow sooner or later into a huge tree of myriad ramifications.

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[1] P. T. RAJU: *The Concept of Man*, p. 15

[2] W. T. STACE: *A Critical History of Greek Philosophy*, p. 123

Virtue, knowledge, and human happiness were all identical to Socrates. Right knowledge ought to lead man to right action, and right action to unsullied happiness. And hence Socrates pleaded for the acquisition of the knowledge of one's self. Thus the Socratic axiom, "Know thyself," forms an important tenet of humanism. The contribution of Socrates to Greek humanism lay in the fact that his philosophy, which he never cared to commit to writing, tried to conjoin man with the eternal, and this through that right knowledge which is virtue.

The humanism of Plato consists, if in anything clearly, in his ethics. He advocates the development of man's highest faculties, and symmetry of life, by which he means the establishment of proper balance between reason, spirit, and desire. Man arrives at virtue when reason controls and guides him to knowledge. Thus we find that both Socrates and Plato make human well-being the centre of their ethical teachings.

Reason, according to Aristotle, is man's highest attribute and his glory; and man must be viewed as man, neither as angel nor as devil. Obviously the virtue we must study is human virtue. To quote from Herschell Baker, "His [Aristotle's] is the most urbane kind of humanism, one that candidly names as its object an attainable good."[3]

So, frankly eclectic, humanism readily recognizes the humanistic tendencies present in the philosophies of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.

Summing up the Greek view of humanism, Herschell Baker says in the same book:

> To understand his own morphology as well as that of the universe is man's highest function, and leads to the state of well-being which is virtue.
>
> This is the apogee of humanism — which, for the Greek, was an attitude and habit of mind rather than a philosophical system or cult.[4]

A discerning eye cannot miss the fact that through most classical Greek literature there runs a strain of humanism, to be seen, for instance, in the pathos resulting from man's constant struggle against the inevitable cosmic forces as, say, in the *Iliad*. The ancient Greek humanism, though not antagonistic to religion, shows profound respect for man, man as such. And the Sophoclean adage is too fundamental to be ignored: "Wonders are many, and none is more wonderful than man."

Renaissance humanism was an intellectual impulse, a cultural and educational programme for the moulding of a desirable type of man in the fashion of the man glorified in the classics, which revealed a magnificent civilization built by the ancient Greeks and Romans who lived

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[3] HERSCHELL BAKER: *The Image of Man*, p. 63

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 104

happy lives for hundreds of years without any assistance from revelation or supernatural sanctions. This turned the Renaissance man's attention from the problem of what might become of him after death to the question of how best he could make his earthly existence a joyful life. As B. A. G. Fuller says:

> Thus it was that western Europe awoke to the possibilities latent in the natural man, and that the individual became acutely self-conscious and engrossed with his own particular temperament and capacities and with the problem and means of expressing them to the utmost. For this reason the epoch is known as the Renaissance, or the period of rebirth, and its preoccupation with the development of human self-realization here and now, in this world, within the limits set by birth and death, has given to its spirit the name of "Humanism."[5]

The most distinctive feature of Renaissance humanism is, of course, its classicism. Humanism here means the study of "humane letters." This involved an avid collection, editing, and translation of the ancient Greek and Latin classics, as also efforts at self-expression with those classics as models. This trend is clearly manifest in Petrarch, its inaugurator and "the prototypal embodiment of the rising zeal for classical study."[6] Petrarch, himself a moral philosopher, believed that the sole aim of philosophy ought to be to teach the art of living well and happily. He was followed by a veritable host of humanists, such as Boccaccio, Salutati, Bruni, Poggio, Pomponazzi, Lorenzo Valla, Ficino, and Mirandola — to name only a few of them.

What is termed "Christian humanism" is best represented by Erasmus, the prince of the northern humanists. His "philosophy of Christ" is essentially an attempt at turning away from scientific questions to the problems of moral life and religious imagination. He insisted on the dignity of man and argued that man was important vicariously, through Christ's atonement and God's grace. In him the new spirit of European humanism found its true expression. In his famous book, *Praise of Folly*, Voltairean in its crushing satire, Erasmus exposed and criticized the corrupt Church, depraved clergy, and sterile Scholastics. He emphasized the necessity and importance of cultivating the life of integrity and pleaded for the understanding and practice of true Christianity, shorn of dogma and superstition.

Humanism has several devotees in the modern era too. F. C. S. Schiller (1864 – 1937) popularized his brand of pragmatism as humanism. He, like William James, accepted the pragmatic criterion of truth. Human

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[5] B. A. G. FULLER: *A History of Philosophy* (Part II), p. 1

[6] H. O. TAYLOR: *The Humanism of Italy* (Collier Books), p. 25

experience is essentially dynamic and is the sole criterion of truth. Trans-empirical or non-human truth is meaningless. Schiller, a modern Sophist, believed that the Protagorean adage, "Man is the measure of all things," was the starting-point of all philosophic wisdom. The primary aim of Schiller's pragmatic humanism is to "rehumanize" philosophy, to lead it back to life, which should energize philosophy to undertake its highest task, the service of man.

Naturalistic humanism, also called "scientific humanism," has gained much popularity in the contemporary world. It is so closely affiliated to naturalism that it is also called "applied naturalism." In the main it specifically repudiates all forms of supernaturalism and holds that man is a wholly natural creature whose well-being rests on his own efforts unaided by transcendental support. It equally emphatically rejects the illusion of immortality and is content with the life here and now. It dismisses as wishful thinking all efforts to prove the existence of God. Thus it implies that it has no need of religion as it is traditionally understood by Western man. Corliss Lamont, one of the chief exponents of naturalistic humanism, summarizes his viewpoint thus:

> Humanism is the viewpoint that man has but one life to lead and should make the most of it in terms of creative work and happiness; that human happiness is its own justification and requires no sanction or support from supernatural sources; that in any case the supernatural, usually conceived of in the form of heavenly gods or immortal heavens, does not exist; and that human beings, using their own intelligence and co-operating liberally with one another, can build an enduring citadel of peace and beauty upon this earth.
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> It is true that no people has come near to establishing the ideal society. Yet Humanism asserts that man's own reason and efforts are man's best and, indeed, only hope; and that man's refusal to recognize this point is one of the chief causes of his failures throughout history. In times of confusion and disintegration like the present, men face the temptation of fleeing to some compensatory realm of make-believe or supernatural solace. Humanism stands uncompromisingly against this tendency, which both expresses and encourages defeatism. The Humanist philosophy persistently strives to remind men that their only home is in the mundane world. There is no use of searching elsewhere for happiness and fulfilment, for there is no place else to go. We human beings must find our destiny and our promised land in the here and now, or not at all.[7]

Religious humanism, in spite of the word "religious," forms an important division of naturalistic humanism. Its adherents emphatically oppose the ideas of Original Sin and human depravity, and they define

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[7] CORLISS LAMONT: *Humanism As a Philosophy*, p. 21

God (and religion) so strangely that He has been surreptitiously removed from the scene.

The modern era has produced several other forms of humanism also. Julian Huxley has developed what he has called "evolutionary humanism" or, sometimes, "trans-humanism." This has sprung from Huxley's staunch faith in the Darwinian theory of evolution. All reality is seen as a process of evolution. Man is a part of nature and he is the latest product of the evolutionary process. But he is a unique product too in that he is that part of it which has become conscious of not only itself but also of the entire range of the process of evolution. Now, man is the sole agent of the further progress of evolution. It rests entirely with him to decide and direct the future path of evolution. This he should accomplish with the aid of the instrument of conceptual thought, and with the assistance of vision and imagination and science. Huxley believes that art and science are two aspects of the same reality and therefore they can have meaning only if they serve the common goal of man's happiness. Huxley's is a religion without revelation, without a personal God or gods, and also without supernatural agents. Evolutionary humanism is a new religion which Huxley proposes for the benefit of the entire mankind; and to Huxley religion is just a social organ for coping with the problem of man's destiny. Huxley is in the tradition of scientific humanists, of course with a particular emphasis on evolution and its future possibilities.

Maritain has expounded a sort of theological humanism based on Catholic thought. Sartre has propounded an existentialist humanism. Irving Babbitt has formulated his controversial "academic humanism."

An elaborate exposition of the concept of man in Indian thought is to be conveniently found in *The Concept of Man,* an important book already mentioned earlier. Dr. P. T. Raju has discussed at length the concept of man embodied in the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, the epics, Jainism, and Buddhism.

Though it is impossible to equate Buddhism with humanism, it is not difficult to see that the Buddha himself was a sort of humanist. In fact he was responsible for the first clear wave of humanism in India. He was concretely concerned with man in the sense that his Eightfold Path of right action and right thought is directed to the cure of human sorrow. Compassion or tenderness is the core of Buddha's humanism.

The humanist appeal of some of the medieval Hindu saints, and those of Islam and Sikhism, has as its background the corrupt and degraded life of man associated with and brought about by the rigid Hindu caste society. These humanisms were mainly attempts at elevating the down-

trodden by preaching the brotherhood and equality of men and by pleading for a casteless society.

The humanism of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who is rightly remembered for his many social reforms, was essentially a part of his fight against the evil aspects of Hinduism. Service of mankind was one of his primary loves, and he even contemplated a universal religion, which, he believed, would be embraced by mankind as a whole.

Gandhiji's humanism, similar in several respects to Tagore's, had a profounder mass-appeal because of the Mahatma's dedicated devotion to the cause of the lowly and the downtrodden. But the humanism expounded by Gandhiji and Tagore has a mystical and religious bias. Dr. V. S. Naravane has made a few significant remarks in this regard:

> The ideas of both Gandhi and Tagore are rooted in those broad intellectual movements which shaped the course of Indian thought in the nineteenth century. They were both humanists. Gandhi's humanism had a moral-social basis, while Tagore's was coloured by his aesthetic-mystical experience; but both were firm believers in the worth and dignity of the human individual. They were both partial to the theistic rather than the pantheistic or absolute traditions in Indian philosophy. ... In the world-view of both Gandhi and Tagore the idea of Love plays a dominant part; they regard love as the magic wand which dissolves all contraries and opens the gateway to truth.[8]

Then came M. N. Roy with his radical or scientific humanism based on democratic revolution and proposed essentially as an alternative to Communism. Roy believed in developing the ideas of a democratic society founded on radical humanism before the society itself was reformed. Like most of the humanists, he starts with the famous Protagorean dictum, "Man is the measure of all things," and builds up his system of "new humanism," expounded mainly in his masterly *New Humanism*.

Another significant humanist of today is Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, an internationally reputed Indo-Anglian novelist, short-story-writer, and art critic. Dr. Anand calls his humanism "comprehensive historical humanism," which has developed from his intense preoccupation with the whole man. In fact Dr. Anand's writings are frankly and admittedly inspired by his love of man. He says:

> And as my media as a writer were the memory and imagination, the substance of my work became the whole man, and the whole gamut of human relationships, rather than only one single part of it.[9]

Man, then, is the central concern of humanism, and its efforts are

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[8] V. S. NARAVANE: *Modern Indian Thought*, p. 113

[9] MULK RAJ ANAND: *Apology for Humanism*, p. 78

directed toward the recognition of the dignity of man as man. Its chief aim is the achievement of man's happiness, of course here and now. Though it seems to conflict with most established beliefs, it could be an excellent instrument for the realization of man's possibilities. After all, "Man is the measure of all things."

G. S. BALARAMA GUPTA

Conversation with Some Yellow Roses

"Roses in an earthen bowl,
Tell me, can the human soul
Be half so pure and sweet as you?
Yellow roses, drenched with dew,
Tell me true."

"Oh, yes! The soul is fairer, far,
Than moonlight and the morning star!
Much more beautiful than we
Every human soul must be,
Because, you see,

We have no love, as people do,
We lack the gift of laughter too.
Then petals fade and fall, so fast,
One summer, and our life is past!
But the soul will not grow old
In summer sun, or winter cold."

"Then tell me, roses, if you can,
Why you are beautiful, while man,
Who has so much to you denied,
Is sick with self, and greed, and pride?"

"Man is full of care, because
He has the will with which to choose
Whether to obey God's Laws,
Or to abuse;
And Law is just, and judgement fair.
That's why mankind is full of care.

But we know neither good nor ill,
And un-self-consciously we grow.
Without Desire, that drives the Will,
We reap not, for we cannot sow."

MARGO LAIRD

ARTHUR L. HERMAN

An Essay Concerning Clive Bell

[We print below the third and last instalment of this interesting essay by Dr. Arthur L. Herman of the Department of Philosophy, Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point, Wisconsin, U.S.A.—ED.]

III

THE LITERATURE OF INDIA is not without statements regarding the ecstasy of purely formal contemplation. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad,* the worshipper says of this movement from the arrogance of humanity to the all-pervading rhythm that Bell speaks of:

> From the dark I go to the varicoloured. From the varicoloured, I go to the dark.[21] Shaking off evil, as a horse his hairs; shaking off the body, as the moon releases itself from the mouth of Rāhu;[22] I, a perfected soul, pass into the uncreated Brahma world—yea, into it I pass.[23]

And another account in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad,* particularly in the final line:

> Him who is to be apprehended in existence who is called incorporeal,
> The maker of existence (*bhāva*) and non-existence, the kindly one (*śiva*)
> God (*deva*), the maker of the creation and its parts
> They who know Him, have left the body behind.[24]

These descriptions would seem to indicate an experience similar to Bell's. In his *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahma Sūtras,* Śaṁkara says of this experience: "One who has reached true knowledge is free from his body while still alive; he knows Brahman to be the Self." Stella Kramrisch in a book called *The Art of India* describes the artistic process in India as essentially a religious rite. She says:

> Making a work of art is a ritual. Its magic acts on the form. By performing the rites of art the craftsman transforms himself as well as his materials. Form, ritual performance, and transformation are simultaneous and inseparable aspects of Indian art.[25]

If the self is transformed as a result of the creative process — and such a change of the self is, I would maintain, the necessary and sufficient

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[21] This would seem to indicate a movement from the many to the One, from appearance to Reality; cf. Eckhart's "This spirit transcending number, breaks through multiplicity and is transfixed by God, and by the fact of his piercing me I pierce him in return; God leads this spirit into the solitude of its own self, where it is simply one and is welling up in itself." (*Meister Eckhart,* Vol. I, p. 180)

[22] An ancient account of eclipses; the moon was swallowed by Rāhu, then regurgitated following the earnest prayers of the people.

[23] *Chāndogya Upaniṣad,* 8.13 (R. Hume trs., p. 273)

[24] *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad,* 5.14 (R. Hume trs., p. 408)

[25] *Op. cit.,* p. 26

condition for any discipline that is called "religious" — a similar change might be expected to take place in the viewer. This latter point will be touched on below. The issue now is simply that as a result of creating this form or apprehending this form one engages in a religious act. This is the case, intentionally at any rate, with much Indian art. Again, Stella Kramrisch says: "In India, the ultimate aim of life is Release (*mokṣa*) and art is one means of attaining this aim."[26]

The experience described in the passages above from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and the transformation of the self described by Kramrisch could both be states preparatory to *mokṣa*. The important point worth dwelling on here is that Bell's experience, his ecstatic experience in the presence of pure form, has been similarly documented in aesthetic accounts of the art of India, where, as Benjamin Rowland has said,

> ... art ... is fashioned not only for its utility but as an appropriate symbolical revelation of those supernatural powers that are believed to govern the terrestrial order.[27]

There are three conclusions I would want to draw from this brief excursus into Indian aesthetic theory. First, the aesthetic experience is essentially a spiritual experience,[28] by which I mean that it is one in which the body is left behind and we pass into an uncreated world (cf. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* above), i.e., the aesthetic experience transforms the self and reveals the Real. Second, this experience is grounded in the very essence of man's being, his intellect or his true Self (Spirit, *Atman*), and not in that lower or sensuous self spoken of by Plato. Thus St. Thomas Aquinas speaking of the creative act states: "Now the craftsman works through the word conceived in his intellect and through the love of his will towards some object."[29]

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[26] *Ibid.*, p. 9. Cf. Bell, "Art and religion are, then, two roads by which men escape from circumstance to ecstasy. Between aesthetic and religious rapture there is a family alliance. Art and religion are means to similar states of mind." (*Ibid.*, p. 68)

[27] *Art in East and West*, p. 1

[28] "Art deals with the whole of life; but its emphasis is in the spiritual realm and the spiritual realm demands a unifying faith as a basis of intelligibility."—E. F. ROTHSCHILD: *The Meaning of Unintelligibility in Modern Art*. Cf., again, Bell: "Art is, in fact, a necessity to and a product of the spiritual life." (*Art*. p. 59)

[29] *Summa Theologica*, I.Q. 45, Art. 6. A statement by Coomaraswamy is much to the point: "Delight or satisfaction may be either aesthetic (sensible) or intellectual (rational). Only the latter pertains to 'life,' the nature of which is to be in act; the satisfactions that are felt by the senses being not an act, but a habit or passion : the work of art then only pertains to our 'life' when it has been understood, and not when it has only been felt." (A. K. COOMARASWAMY : *Figures of Speech or Figures of Thought*, p. 82)

Since the doctrine of the intellect as regards aesthetic contemplation is so important here, I append to the above quotation from St. Thomas another quotation from Coomaraswamy which may serve to point up this idea :

"It is in making aesthetic pleasures rather than pleasure in the intelligible good, the end of art, that modern 'aesthetic' differs most profoundly from the traditional doctrine; the current philosophy of art is essentially sensational, i.e., sentimental." (*Ibid.* p. 67)

Finally, Walter Shewring in his book *Art in Christian Philosophy* has said of the intellect and its relation to art: ". . . [art] belongs formally to his [man's] intellect not his emotions." (p. 7)

The craftsman works then just as God did, when He created His creatures by and through His Word: "... God is the cause of things by his intellect and will, just as the craftsman is the cause of the things made by his craft."[30]

Finally, I would conclude from the quotations taken earlier from Bell's essays that he would be in agreement with the two conclusions reached here regarding the function and nature of the aesthetic experience.[31] Let me now turn to a point briefly mentioned above. If this sacred art or art involving significant form is grounded in the self or intellect of the artist, then the understanding of this work of the intellect as it is expressed on canvas or in stone can be attained only by a reciprocal act of creation on the part of the viewer.[32] In a sense he, or his intellect, is just as much creator and artificer as was the intellect of the original artist. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy sums this view up extremely well:

> ... he who would understand and appreciate an already completed work can only do it subject to the same condition, and this means he must conform his intellect to that of the artist so as to think with his thoughts and see with his eyes. Acts of self-renunciation are required of all those who aspire to "culture," that is, to be other than provincials.[33]

This ability to appreciate the oneness of all things was an easy task for the Hindu philosophers. Understanding of the coincidence of the artist as maker with the form of the work of art and with the artist as viewer was almost second nature to them.

> He who dwelling in all things, yet is other than all things, whom all things do not know, whose body all things are, who controls all things from within — He is your soul, the inner Controller, the Immortal.[34]

And again:

> He is the unseen Seer, the unheard Hearer, the unthought thinker, the un-understood understander ... Other than He there is no understander. He is your Soul, the Inner Controller, the Immortal.[35]

Bell's experience would seem to indicate an activity of the intellect; I know of no other way of explaining what was, as he himself calls it, a

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[30] *Sum. Theol.*, I.Q. 45, Art. 6

[31] Cf. Part I of this paper.

[32] "The reader or spectator of the imitation of a 'myth' is to be rapt away from his habitual and possible personality, and, just as in all other sacrificial rituals, becomes a God for the duration of the rite, and only returned to himself when the rite is relinquished, when the epiphany is at an end and the curtain falls. We must remember that the purpose of the rite is to sacrifice the old and to bring into being a new and more perfect man." (A. K. COOMARASWAMY, *Op. cit.*, p. 15) Cf. Bell's "But that for many, art not only adds something new, but seems to transmute and enrich the old, is certain and by no means deplorable." (p. 161)

[33] A. K. COOMARASWAMY: *Op. cit.*, p. 71

[34] *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, 3. 7. 15; R. Hume trs., p. 116

[35] *Ibid.*, 3. 7. 23; p. 117

feeling of ecstasy.[36] His feelings, and for our purposes, the expression of these feelings are not new. His experience has been felt and understood by men from ancient times down to and into the present. There is really nothing surprising in his statement when it is considered in the light of this knowledge of the past. What is surprising is that he should have this experience at all. The times we live in are anything but conducive to the production of seers and mystics, no matter what branch of the occupational tree they may come from. In this century of machines and psychopaths, where we produce paranoia instead of metanoia, it is significant indeed that the perennial philosophy can still speak to men who love art.*

ARTHUR L. HERMAN

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[36] Which means literally a "standing aside"; a clearing away of the human self in order that another (presumably higher) Self might intrude.

* For many of the ideas presented in this paper, the author is deeply indebted to the friendship of and to conversations with the late Ray F. Livingston, a debt that extends to Dr. Livingston's excellent book, *The Traditional Theory of Literature*.

NEVILLE BRAYBROOKE

Tennyson's Home in the Isle of Wight

[Our old friend, Mr. Neville Braybrooke, gives us here an intimate picture of Tennyson and his home in the poet's last years. This account will form a chapter in a forthcoming book by Mr. Braybrooke.—ED.]

A HUNDRED YEARS ago the porters at Yarmouth's quay would speed parting travellers with the cry "All aboard for England, all aboard for the mainland!" Tennyson loved the "remoteness" of the Isle of Wight, its distance from the "noise and smoke of town"; and for sixteen years he made Farringford his home on it — a house set in the south-west corner of the Island, "some four to five miles' drive by trap from Yarmouth." Even after he had returned to the mainland in 1869, he remained a constant visitor: the mild climate, so good for his rheumatics, drew him back each autumn to Farringford.

Scores of guide-books record that it was on his last visit to the Island, aboard the Lymington-Yarmouth ferry, that he composed "Crossing the Bar." But the truth is that in his declining years he was attended by a nurse and that one day, when he was unusually melancholy, she took him affectionately to task. "Lord Tennyson," she said, "you ought to be ashamed of yourself grumbling in this way. You ought to be expressing your gratitude for your recovery from your bad illness by giving us something — by giving it to the world." He took the reproof well, retired straightway to his study, and began to write:

> Sunset and evening star
> And one clear call for me!
> And may there be no moaning of the bar
> When I put out to sea ...

In less than half an hour, the remaining three stanzas were completed. The lines had "come in a moment." His memory had been stirred by the many crossings over the Solent that he had made during the past forty years.

Emily, his wife, often spoke of the leisurely slow passing of time in the island; the fact that so many of the natives seemed to have "no very exact record of [it]." Even today, to make the crossing is to put the clock back. It is possible to walk for miles along the island's cliffs, or down its leafy lanes, without meeting anyone, and several butchers still boast of being "purveyors of meat to Her Majesty the Queen." They refer of course to Queen Victoria. Shops that once waited upon orders from the royal household at Osborne still retain a German translation of their wares painted outside — a courtesy to the Prince Consort, which has

survived two world wars. The castle that continues to protect Yarmouth was begun in the reign of Henry VIII, and the town's church of St. James has in its southern chancel a marble statue put up to the memory of Admiral Sir Robert Holmes, who was one of the Captains of Wight at the end of the seventeenth century. In 1664, he had captured New York from the Dutch.

In 1853, when Tennyson arrived on the island, he said it was "to escape the Hero-worshippers in the mainland." Already he had been Poet Laureate for two years, and his *Poems* were in their eighth edition, and his collection called *The Princess* in its fifth. The escape was partially successful. A local coachman maintained that he could be no great man because "he kept only one manservant." The local policeman grew accustomed to seeing him walking under the stars and supposed that he was "a-making poems or prayers." A local fisherman to whom he had bade "Good morrow" at four in the morning replied: "Thou poor fool, thou doesn't knaw whether it be night or däa." ("Däa" is West Wight dialect for "day" and is still used). At Freshwater Bay, a mile's distance from Farringford, the word "crazed" was frequently used about the poet during these early months of his residence.

But if Tennyson had fled to the island to avoid publicity, it was not long before his hero-worshippers had wind of him. The Solent proved no barrier to his many admirers. They would lie in wait for him on High Down; they would press their faces to his dining-room window to see him eat; they would climb trees to spy him out in his study. One morning two elderly and respectful admirers knocked at the front door of Farringford. "May we see Mr. Tennyson?" they inquired of the middle-aged man who opened it to them. They were no doubt taken aback when they were told: "Well, you have seen him. Now will you kindly go away and leave me alone?" A decade later, Tennyson protested in the most vehement terms that he would not come out and meet a group of American tourists who had gathered on the lawn. His friends and family chided him: they said that his visitors had come to see a lion, not a bear, and in the end he relented and went out and spoke to them.

In the eighteen-fifties, a famous poet could expect to be lionized more than any actor. Earlier in the century, Byron had already had London at his feet; and at Farringford the crowds would gather in the shaded lane that separated the house from the farm in order to see Tennyson walk on to High Down. To retain his privacy, he had built a rustic bridge over the lane. It was to little avail. The people now collected beneath it in the hope of catching a fleeting glimpse of the Laureate hurrying across in his military cloak, with his big hat pulled down over his tangled hair.

Farringford is a late Georgian house with Gothic windows and castellated walls. James Bayard Taylor, the American travel writer, described it in 1862 as "a cheerful gray country mansion, with a thick small grassed park before it, a grove behind, and beyond all, the steep shoulder of the chalk downs, a gap in which, at Freshwater, showed the dark-blue horizon of the Channel." His description still holds.

At first Tennyson only rented the house. Then one day one of his closest friends, Sir John Simeon, who was the squire of Swainston Hall, near Newport (the island's capital), remarked on some lines of the poet that he had come across in an old issue of *The Tribute*. He urged him to reprint them — or even develop them. The lines were:

> O that 'twere possible
> After long grief and pain
> To find the arms of my true love
> Round me once again.

Six months later Tennyson had written *Maud,* in which there is a passing reference to Farringford as a house "half hid in the gleaming wood." This monodrama, as the publishers entitled it — or this "little *Hamlet,*" as the poet used to call it — brought him £500, and with such backing he now felt in a financial position to buy Farringford. The sale was completed in 1856. Hallam, his eldest son, has left this account of his father at work:

> My father worked at *Maud,* morning and evening, sitting in his hard high-backed wooden chair in his little room at the top of the house. His "sacred pipes," as he named them, were half an hour after breakfast and half an hour after dinner when no one was allowed to be with him, for then his best thoughts came to him ...

During these "sacred half hours" and his other working hours, and even climbing High Down, he would compose out loud as he walked, a habit that dated back to his childhood. In Lincoln, at Louth, as a tiny child and before he could read, he would love on stormy days to spread his arms in the wind and shout: "I hear a voice that's crying in the wind." On High Down (now known as Tennyson Down), he would roar like King Lear against the elements, his "hollow oes and aes" echoing and reverberating. It was here he was suddenly inspired with the theme for "The Charge of the Light Bridge." It was a phrase reported in *The Times* — "someone had blundered" — that decided him on the metre which he would use.

The top of Tennyson Down is now marked by a stone cross that can be seen for miles, and is known as the Tennyson Monument. Moreover, the Down itself is now in the care of the National Trust, and from its

summit on a fine day the Hampshire coastline is clearly visible.

If Tennyson disliked the curiosity and acclamation of an unknown public on his doorstep, his house was rarely empty of friends. As Emily, his wife, referring to the constant stream of visitors, said, "it was rather like running a small hotel." Today, Farringford *is* a well-run hotel, and one can still have tea in the drawing-room and look out, as Tennyson did, over a pastoral scene of meadows and sleepy cattle. When I first went there seven years ago, over the fireplace in the drawing-room there was a framed manuscript of one of Tennyson's poems.

Other items were also on show in the hall — letters, early editions of *The Idylls of the King* (most of which he wrote here), the poet's laurel-wreath, and his nightcap. These have now been removed to the Tennyson Museum in Lincoln. However, in the Museum at Carisbrooke Castle near Newport, where Charles I was imprisoned during the Civil War, the poet's writing-table can be seen.

Farringford offered Tennyson sixteen unbroken years of "quiet and peace." But in the end the hordes of hero-worshippers, and the "brick boxes springing up all around" (an exaggerated piece of poetic licence if ever there was one), became too much for him. If time had seemed to stand still on the Island, on the mainland, in contrast, it seemed that everyone was becoming "more and more Time-conscious." The effects of the Industrial Revolution were making their mark. Hardly a week passed without a new discovery in science being announced, while the railways were slowly spreading their network over all the land — even over the "nookshotten Isle of Wight." Yet in this rapidly changing world of the seventies and eighties, there were two strongholds in the island that held fast. The old Queen at Osborne clung to the memories of her dead husband, while her Poet Laureate in West Wight held fast to his unerring belief in words and the sense of the Divine that could be released through them by the power of incantation. In the last January of his life, he was brought down to the drawing-room at Farringford to sit on his favourite red velvet sofa. There, gazing out of the oriel window, he wrote:

> We feel we are nothing — for all is Thou and in Thee;
> We feel we are something — *that* also has come from Thee;
> We know we are nothing — but Thou wilt help us to be.
> Hallowed be Thy name — Halleluiah.

The gardens and grounds have altered little since Tennyson's time, and no account of Farringford would be complete that did not recall how in the late eighteen-fifties the poet's poor sight had led him to flee from a flock of sheep on High Down believing them to be autograph-hunters. In front of the house is the Wellingtonia, the tree planted by Garibaldi

in 1861; it is now over eighty feet high. There is too a magnolia in which Emily took such pride, and from which blossoms were cut to give Queen Emma of the Sandwich Islands when she came to visit them; but so many other guests also came that day to tea, that Emily and Alfred were forced to hide her "in the summer house in the kitchen garden." Then there is the laburnum which still drops "wells of fire." A critic had challenged the description, and the poet had replied: "Not coal fire, certainly — but little golden flames of fire, or so at least it seems to me." Another critic had also challenged the remark that daisies had crimson marks on their under-petals. He was sent off to High Down — and came back contrite and full of apologies. Or, if you come to Farringford once "the wreath of March has blossom'd," then the lawns, as Tennyson promised Hallam's godfather a century ago, will again be fresh with

Crocus, anemone, violet.

NEVILLE BRAYBROOKE

Words

Words have a magic
black or white;
they heal or scar
make whole or mar;
their potency is high
for evil or for good;
they can provide a food
to nourish or to poison;
according to intention
lift up or debase,
destroy or create.

AUDREY S. LA ROCHE

PREMA PANDURANGAN

Shakespeare's Enobarbus

[We are glad to welcome to our pages a new young critic, Smt. Prema Pandurangan, Assistant Professor of English, Presidency College, Madras. After a bright career as a student of English literature and Sanskrit at the University of Mysore and Sri Venkateswara University, Tirupati, she is now working on a doctoral thesis on "Modern Drama" as well as teaching. In this brief essay she writes appreciatively of the facets of Enobarbus' character.—ED.]

SHAKESPEARE undoubtedly sat down to write *Antony and Cleopatra* with North's *Plutarch* in his blood and bones. North translated *Plutarch* into fine English prose and Shakespeare transformed North into sublime English poetry. J. Middleton Murry in his valuable essay on *Antony and Cleopatra* praises ecstatically the poetry of it; for he believes that poetry is its very pulse:

> ... the power of poetry ... overrides drama; it overrides psychology. The ultimate and enduring structure of the play is in the poetry. Its life, its inward progression, derive from the response of poetry to poetry.

And Enobarbus is a poet.

It is a literary commonplace to hastily label him as merely the chorus in the play. Shakespeare meant him for a more complex and much more active role. Enobarbus comments on, but stands not aloof from, the "tragic analysis of man and of man's splendid impotence beneath the unpitying stars"; for he is a part of it.

Enobarbus is the right follower for Antony. Both are Romans in Rome and Egyptians in Egypt — but Enobarbus' vision is unclouded even after a whole night's drunken revel, while Antony cannot look before and after when Cleopatra is by his side. Fulvia's death *seems* to perturb Antony, but Enobarbus is quick to knock the master back to his real nature:

> ... this grief is crowned with consolation; your old smock brings forth new petticoat; and indeed the tears live in an onion that should water this sorrow. (Act I, Sc. ii)

It is uncommon frankness arising out of unselfishness and clarity of thought which makes Enobarbus apparently heartless at times. He knows every pulse-beat of Antony's heart, yet he is never impudent. When commanded to arrange for Antony's departure from Egypt, his obedience is expressed in a brief line: "I shall do it."

If Enobarbus can be identified with the chorus, it is in his ravishing report of Cleopatra on Cydnus, to Mecænas — a friend of Caesar:

The barge she sat in, like a burnish'd throne ...
And what they undid did.

His words are a velvety stretch and their sense is dexterously and colourfully woven into their structure. We are transported into an atmosphere of Oriental luxury, in a poetic wonderland. Had this idyllic scene been described by any person other than Enobarbus, both Mecænas and we, the readers of the play, would have doubted its validity. But a most sober man with an erect head on his manly shoulders is the speaker and we have faith in his words. Enobarbus makes no wrong guesses. He is sure. Antony's pleasure lies in the East. The thirty-two-year-old Egyptian queen has a magnetic charm and infinite variety is the alchemy of her very being.

Shakespeare credits Enobarbus with two unforgettable descriptions of Cleopatra's royalty and variety.

Enobarbus the poet is also a soldier whose valour Pompey has envied:

I never hated thee. I have seen thee fight,
When I have envied thy behaviour. (Act II, Sc. vi)

He is the soldier who strives to convince the obstinate Antony that his navy is impotent before Caesar's powerful fleet. His reason and his sense of duty clash. He is conscious of this internal conflict. Yet to set aside reason for a while, at least for a while he tries to live again the life of an ideal soldier, who is not to question why, who is not to make reply, who is but to fight and die.

I'll yet follow
The wounded chance of Antony, though my reason
Sits in the wind against me. (Act III, Sc. viii)

The soldier in him has no patience for impractical heroism such as Antony's impulse to face Caesar "sword against sword." Enobarbus' mind still lingers in the ideal realm of unquestioning service to the general though he is aware of Antony's quixotic idea.

Mine honesty and I begin to square.
The loyalty well held to fools does make
Our faith more folly; yet he that can endure
To follow with allegiance a fall'n lord,
Does conquer him that did his master conquer ...
(Act III, Sc. xi)

Towards the end of the third Act we see Enobarbus thoroughly disgusted and desperate. After the Thyreus episode, the court of Egypt stands perturbed, but not for long. Cleopatra announces that it is her birthday, and since Antony is Antony again, she will be Cleopatra. Enobarbus who

has watched Antony first as his general, then as the lover, and now sees him as a lunatic, has no hope of his success.

> To be furious
> Is to be frightened out of fear, and in that mood
> The dove will peck the estridge.

The decision is made: "I will seek some way to leave him" (Act III, Sc. xi). Yet it takes some time to snap a clear human bondage and we find the stern soldier "an ass ... onion-ey'd," beholding Antony shaking hands with his fellow men. Middleton Murry interprets the scene thus — "There is the double touch, which makes Antony Antony — the simple humanity of his handshake with his servants and the reminder that kings have done him the like office." And Murry adds — "Enobarbus half understands." One rather thinks Enobarbus is trying to hide an emotional breakdown with a façade of cynicism.

> 'Tis one of those odd tricks which sorrow shoots
> Out of the mind" ... (Act IV, Sc. ii)

We miss Enobarbus from Antony's camp as sadly as Antony himself. The general does not fret or fume. He sends "gentle adieus and greetings" to Enobarbus. He sends after him all his treasure "with his [Antony's] bounty overplus." He is as generous as Jove. He bids Eros:

> Say that I wish he never find more cause
> To change a master. (Act IV, Sc. v)

Enobarbus, on the other side of the field, is mad with repentance. He has left Antony because he could not tolerate frantic warfare; and now that he is in Caesar's camp, he realizes he is a misfit therein. Treason gnaws at his heart. "I am alone the villain of the earth. ..." (Act IV, Sc. vi) Antony's magnanimity is choking in its bounty. Enobarbus needs not any instrument for suicide "but thought will do it."

Scene ix of Act IV is the acme of Enobarbus' life and its end too. Lady Macbeth walks at night with a taper in hand muttering about frightful incidents in her formidable past. She knows she has not paid for them. All that she can do now is prate wise words all in a sound sleep: "What's done cannot be undone" ... "She is like a little girl with a broken doll weeping on her doorstep." Enobarbus walking in the moonlight and talking to the moon is as tragic a figure as Lady Macbeth. To him treason is murder; hence the guilt that harrows him. He yearns for death:

> O sovereign mistress of true melancholy
> The poisonous damp of night disponge upon me,

That life, a very rebel to my will,
May hang no longer on me. (Act IV, Sc. ix)

In a way it is a call like Lady Macbeth's "To bed, to bed, to bed." But death would come only after a confession that he is "A master-leaver and a fugitive." But we do not consider him in so sad a light as that. For us he is a man who was driven to treason. Antony's remark,

O my fortunes have
Corrupted honest men,

is indeed true of Enobarbus. Two of Antony's best followers precede him in death. They are Enobarbus and Eros. The latter stays on with Antony and gains Antony's tears and praise —

"Eros,
Thy master dies thy scholar." (Act IV, Sc. xii).

It is strange that Shakespeare does not make Antony know of Enobarbus' death. Did he perhaps mean to tell us that the man who betrayed his master died unknown to his old master and uncared for by the new?

The first words which Enobarbus utters in the play are — "Bring in the banquet quickly; wine enough Cleopatra's health to drink." He tells Mecænas — "we did sleep day out of countenance, and made the night light with drinking." The same Bacchanalian has robust common sense which, when expressed, seems bad humour. He is not happy over Antony's marriage with Octavia.

He will to his Egyptian dish again; then, shall the sighs of Octavia blow the fire up in Cæsar, and as I said before, that which is the strength of their amity shall prove the immediate author of their variance." (Act II, Sc. vi)

Though at times some of his metaphors seem obscene, it is only his grand poetry that we remember when we think of him. Plutarch mentions Enobarbus just thrice. First, when Antony commands him to announce to his army a disgraceful treaty with the enemy; the second, when we find Enobarbus persuading Antony to send Cleopatra back to Egypt during the battle. Thirdly, before the battle of Actium, Enobarbus is accorded friendly treatment by Antony.

This shadow of a figure in Plutarch Shakespeare transforms into one of flesh and blood. Enobarbus is shown as a soldier, a chorus, a humorist, and primarily as a poet portrayed by the matchless poet-dramatist.

PREMA PANDURANGAN

Loving Union

(*Samjnana*)

I

(Among members of a family)

I'll have you achieve
the union of hearts and of minds,
and freedom from hate.
Love one another
as the mother-cow loves
her new-born calf ...
Let not brother hate brother,
nor sister hate sister.
Be knit together
by a common aim
and speak words with grace ...
Let there be
the loving heart in you
at all hours of the day.

(*Atharva Veda*, III. 30)

II

(Among the people of a state)

Meet together,
speak together,
and unite
by knowing one another's mind ...
Let your aims be common,
and your hearts united.
Be of one mind
so that you may live
good lives together.

(*Ṛgveda*, X. 191)

III

(With foreign people)

May we have loving union
with our own people,
and loving union
with foreign people, too.
We pray that we and foreign peoples
may unite
by knowing each other.

May we have union of minds
and union of purposes,

and not go against
the Divine spirit within us,
so that the shout of battle
may not rise,
with many being slain,
nor the arrows
of the Lord of Battle
fly with the break of day.*

(*Atharva Veda*, VII. 52)

Translated by ABINASH CHANDRA BOSE

NOW may every living thing, feeble or strong, omitting none, tall or middle-sized or short, subtle or gross of form, seen or unseen, those dwelling near or far away — whether they be born or yet unborn — may every living thing be full of bliss.

—THE BUDDHA

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* NOTE : *Samjñāna*—to the Vedic prefix *saṁ-* corresponds *sum-* in Greek, which in the English form is *sym-* as in 'symphony.' As 'symphony' is not only an assemblage of sounds, but one in which different sounds have been united through an inner harmony, so *samjñāna* is the grouping of people who have not only acquired knowledge (*jñāna*) of each other, but also been united by establishing harmony or love through it. For *jñāna* at his deepest is *ātmajñāna*, the awareness of the 'Divine spirit' in man (St. 2). This awareness demands harmony and resists conflict with fellow men.

New Books and Old

The Basic Ideas of Indian Philosophy*

THIS BOOK is a collection of papers discussed at the East-West Philosophers' Conferences held in Honolulu in 1939, 1949, 1959, and 1964, where many leading thinkers of the Orient and the Occident met together to exchange ideas and for mutual understanding. The late Dr. Moore himself has contributed an Introduction, on the subject "The Comprehensive Indian Mind." Dr. S. Radhakrishnan writes on "The Indian Approach to the Religious Problem." Dr. Dhirendra Mohan Datta contributes two papers, on (i) "Epistemological Methods in Indian Philosophy" and (ii) "Some Philosophical Aspects of Indian Political, Legal, and Economic Thought." Swami Nikhilananda writes on (i) "Concentration and Meditation as Methods in Indian Philosophy," and (ii) "The Realistic Aspect of Indian Spirituality." The late Dr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar expounds "The Philosophical Basis of Indian Legal and Social Systems." Among other contributors are Dr. Raju, Dr. Mahadevan, Dr. Murti, Dr. Takakusu, Dr. Saksena, and Professor Kalidas Bhattacharyya. Included in the book are two contributions on Buddhism, one by Dr. Malalasekera on "Some Aspects of Reality as Taught by Theravada Buddhism" and the other by Dr. Takakusu on "Buddhism as a Philosophy of 'Thusness.' "

The subjects are all distinct and separate. In a sense they deal with different topics. But the pace is set by Dr. Moore, the editor, himself in his first contribution. To know a man, it is necessary to know his philosophy. To know and understand a nation or a country, it is equally necessary to know its philosophy. The learned editor therefore could not be more right when he says:

> There are two vital reasons for studying and understanding Indian philosophy: first (for the general reader), in order to understand the country and its people, which is impossible in the case without understanding its basic philosophies because the intimacy of philosophy and life in India is so fundamental to the whole Indian point of view; and, second (for those concerned with philosophy), in order to enlarge the scope of philosophy and to broaden the horizons of philosophers by attending seriously to the important contributions that Indian philosophy and philosophers have made to the totality of philosophical knowledge and wisdom — or at least can make if the rest of the world will attend seriously to those contributions.

Philosophy in India is not intellectual speculation. It is called "*Darśana*," which means "actually seeing." This "sight" is not the ordinary sight with the eyes. It is not a "sight" by the use of this faculty or that faculty of a man. It is a sight with a man's whole being: a total vision and not a mere optical reaction. Equally, this sight is not a mere matter of mental feeling or perception through emotion or experience. Dr. Saksena describes it by saying: "it is neither sense nor reason nor intuition but the whole of the man. Philosophy is the reaction of the whole of man to the whole of reality." That is why philosophy in India means a complete and total knowledge undisturbed by the bias of the body and the mind. Philosophy, therefore, in the Indian context, is a total transformation and a *rapport* between knowledge and action with no intermediate bridge keeping them apart. India will not call a man a philosopher unless he is a transformed

**The Indian Mind.* Ed. by CHARLES A. MOORE. (University of Hawaii Press. 458 pp. 1967. $9.50)

man in this sense. This transformation has been variously described as self-realization or truth.

The outstanding characteristics of Indian philosophy have almost been tabulated by Dr. Moore under seventeen different heads. Some of those are: (1) the universal and primary concern with matters of spiritual significance; (2) the concept of *Mokṣa* or Liberation or Emancipation from all bondages of every kind, acquired, inherited, imposed, or conceived; (3) the doctrine of *Karma* and reincarnation; (4) a synthesis between the most rigorous Monism and-or Absolutism with Pantheism, God in all and all in God; (5) the validity and necessity of intuition as a corollary and corrective to the rational and intellectual processes; (6) the co-relation between philosophy and religion; (7) moral purification as an integral part of the very process of knowledge; (8) the basic approach for co-existence of matter and spirit and, necessarily, materialism and spirituality; and (9) the great system of *Yoga* as the scientifically based communion between the individual and the universal, between the ephemeral and the eternal, between shadow and substance, between pain and pleasure, joy and sorrow, the whole and the part, between light and darkness, between sound and silence, and between the potential and the kinetic.

The doctrine of "Ignorance" or *Avidyā* is a central concept in the Indian theory of the universe. It builds the Indian reconciliation of what appear *prima facie* to be irreconcilables — death and immortality; bliss and sorrow; desire and frustration; meditation and activity; sociology and cosmology; State and society, and the individual. Indian thought emphasizes the unbroken rhythm and harmony in the apparently divergent notes to correlate the phenomenon with the noumenon. To consciously understand that rhythm and to be constantly aware of rhyming with it is Indian philosophy.

In a general review it would be out of place to discuss in detail the technicalities of each one of the papers included in this book and of all the six systems of Indian philosophy or the special features of Indian metaphysics and epistemology.

The series of excellent contributions on different aspects of Indian philosophy, viewed from different angles, present a broad spectrum, which emphasizes the essential characteristics, of Indian philosophy. They, taken together, are as good a summary, if ever a summary is possible, to tell the world in a nutshell what Indian philosophy is.

This book is a companion volume to *The Chinese Mind* and *The Japanese Mind*. These titles appear to be somewhat misleading. Mind has no geography. It has no nation. It has no territory. To label minds as the Indian Mind, the Chinese Mind, the Japanese Mind, the European Mind, or the American Mind is a restricting adventure in philosophy. Indian philosophy is not necessarily reflected in the Indian Mind. Many European and American minds in this sense have exhibited the major characteristics of Indian philosophy. Ecology as a biological concept dealing with the habits, modes of life, and relation to surroundings of living organisms is misleading in its application to the human mind. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan in his paper on "The Indian approach to the Religious Problem" strikes the broad humanistic note by his statement:

> There is no reason to believe that there are fundamental differences between the East and the West. Human beings are everywhere human and hold the same deepest values. The differences, which are no doubt significant, are related to external, temporary, social conditions and are alterable with them.

Subject to this limitation, the book is a fine presentation of the basic ideas of Indian philosophy.

P. B. MUKHARJI

The Song Celestial or Bhagavad-Gītā (From the *Mahābhārata*): *Being a Discourse between Arjuna, Prince of India, and the Supreme Being under the Form of Krishna.* Translated from the Sanskrit Text by Sir EDWIN ARNOLD. (Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., London. xii+111 pp. 1967. Paperback, 5*s.*)

This paperback, really small enough for the pocket or handbag, reproduces the publisher's earlier cloth edition. *The Bhagavad-Gītā* is the most translated of all the Indian religious and philosophical classics, meeting the eternal needs of the human mind and heart, in East and West alike.

Some translations and commentaries are designed for the learned — seeking exactitudes of meaning and subtle profundities. Others, like *The Song Celestial,* the 1885 version by Sir Edwin Arnold, have a more popularizing purpose (using the word in its best sense). To anyone for whom ethics are living ideas, not dead platitudes, the *Bhagavad-Gītā* has much to offer. It is a book of true *Yoga,* treating of devotion, of union, of equilibrium of mind and skill in action. The action that liberates is duty performed without motives of self-interest.

Sir Edwin Arnold has used blank verse "changing into lyrical measure" where the original text changes.

> Never the spirit was born; the spirit shall cease to be never;
> Never was time it was not; End and Beginning are dreams!
> Birthless and deathless and changeless remaineth the spirit for ever;
> Death hath not touched it at all, dead though the house of it seems!

That truth, so movingly rendered in the translation, has brought comfort to many hearts made sorrowful by the impact of death. To all who feel that the ultimate utterance of life is not a discord but a song, this little book of devotion is of immense value.

E. WHITE

Jñāneshvarī (*Bhāvārthadīpikā*). Translated from the Marāthi by V. G. PRADHAN. Edited and with an Introduction by H. M. LAMBERT. Vol. I. (UNESCO Collection of Representative Works: Indian Series. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 336 pp. 1967. 52*s.* 6*d.*)

Once more we have to thank UNESCO initiative and perception for a Western version of a work little known outside its original *locale.* This poem of some 10,000 lines, written in rhythmic prose in the form of a *kīrtan,* to be chanted or recited to percussion-instruments, is a major classic of the Marāthi tongue. The Marāthi culture at the time of the Western Middle Ages represents an early triumph of post-Sanskritic literature and thought, centring on the Bhakti cult directed to Krishna, in which all castes took part. Into the prominent Vākari sect was born the precocious poet Jñāneshvar (or Jñānadeva): he composed the present wort at nineteen, and a few years later experienced *samādhi* "in committing himself to live entombment whilst in a state of ecstasy."

In the text itself, the poem — wholly based on the *Bhagavad-Gītā* — is described as a *dharmakīrtan* or religious "song-sermon" as well as a "commentary" or *ṭīkā.* The reader more easily tires of this than of the *Gītā* itself, whose luminous, inclusive terseness (also in translation) is not always illuminated by this endless decorative expansion. Exceptions are, e.g., the expansion of XI.5. (p. 292), "My forms, a hundredfold" etc., or similar invitations to detail in Chapters IX and X (e.g., p. 220-3). And there are some delicate fantasies, like that (p. 243) on *Gītā,* IX.26, "Whoever offers to Me with devotion a leaf, a flower, a fruit, or water. ...": why a flower, when even a

leaf — fresh or dry — is acceptable; if a leaf cannot be found, water will do. The offerer of water "makes for Me many bedrooms of milk as delightful as the milky ocean." Jñāneshvar's expansiveness is valuable also in the sections portraying *Yogic* methods, e.g., in Chapter VI, "The Yoga of Meditation," and some passages of Chapter VIII, "The Yoga of the Imperishable Absolute."

At the outset the poet is more than humble:

> In order to encompass the sky one must be greater than it; so, really speaking, to expound the *Gita* is beyond my capacity. ... This work is unfathomable and even the Vedas were bewildered by it. ... How could an insect hold the firmament in its grasp? (p. 29)

Yet later (p. 259):

> If my Marathi version of the original Sanskrit [*Gita*] is read carefully ... no one could say which is the original. Owing to the beauty of the body, it becomes an ornament to the very ornaments that it wears, and one cannot say which of the two beautifies the other.

Certainly the poem shows a rich power of sustained — even sublime — thought and expression, and is also interesting for occasional references to contemporary life. It accompanies not unworthily Rādhākrishnan's famous version of the *Gītā,* which is inserted throughout the book. Yet Jñāneshvar of course accepts naïvely the naïve *Gītā*-assumption that a Kṣatriya's "duty" to fight supersedes all the ethical problems raised by war itself, a view which contradicts the rest of the work and the "essence" of Hinduism itself, marred though this be by the compensatory mania of caste.

The production of this book is a credit to all concerned and forms part of UNESCO's truly world-wide vision.

TERENCE WHITE GERVAIS

The Essene Heritage or The Teacher of the Scrolls and the Gospel Christ. By MARTIN A. LARSON. (Philosophical Library, New York. 237 pp. 1967. $.4.95)

No-one who is not deeply versed in Biblical study and criticism should venture to review such a book as this. But, as it has great interest for the common reader and not only for scholars, it is as one of the former that the present reviewer is emboldened to take up her pen.

The existence of the sect known as Essenes and their definite influence on the life and teaching of Jesus has been known since the early days of Christianity, especially from the writings of the first-century Jewish historian, Josephus, and the Greek philosopher Philo, who has long been recognized by scholars as one of the chief formative influences on the Fourth Gospel. But much new light has been thrown on the subject since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1946.

The author of this book summarizes the evidence with copious references to all the available material and comes to the conclusion that Jesus was definitely one of the products of Essenism and "modelled his career consciously on that of an almost forgotten predecessor," the Teacher and Saviour of the Essene faith. That this thesis was opposed by both Jews and Christians is natural; the former not willing to admit that the faith which finally conquered the Western world owed its rise to a sect of their own people, and the Christians holding that the revelation through Christ was something entirely new and unique in the history of the world.

Weighty indeed, however, is the evidence amassed here for the supreme importance of the Essene heritage for its influence, not only on Jesus himself, but no less on the earliest Christian

churches and especially the one at Jerusalem, from which so many of the early leaders emerged and where the conflict was tensest between those who wished to retain undiluted "the pristine message of Jesus, replete with its celibate, communal and Essene-Messianic pronouncements" (p. 199) and those who wished to make Christianity acceptable to a wider public by Hellenizing its teaching. It is with this evidence that the whole book is concerned, but an Appendix gives a short but cogent summary of the history of Christianity and concludes with the following passage (p. 211):

> And so we find that the Essene cult was the fountainhead of the Gospel as proclaimed by Jesus; it was also the source of several variant forms of early and devout Christianity. But when this religion was Hellenized by Paul and the Fourth Gospel, its social, ethical, economic, eschatological, and political doctrines, derived from the Dead Sea Covenanters [the Essenes], were all deleted; and when it was paganized by the Roman Catholic Church, scarcely so much as an echo of the original evangel remained.

It is a thesis that will find an echo in many liberal minds today and it is to be hoped that Dr. Larson's book will be widely and carefully read, not only by those concerned to defend their own particular faith, but by many whose only desire is to find and accept the truth.

MARGARET BARR

The Diary of a Mystic. By EDWARD THORNTON. (George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. 180 pp. 1967. 25*s.*)

The decisive factor in human life is Faith. Faith is what we choose to believe. And this may indeed be the only freedom we have, for what we choose to believe determines inexorably what we are.

Edward Thornton had little choice about his love for God. It came to him very early and it was fanned by the church services in which he took part as a choir boy. But it was his own choice that put this love above everything else that came so temptingly to him, music, acting, money, and the friendship of well-known people; and God guided him naturally and logically through a full and normal life. The Diary records the influences helping him, from Ramakrishna to the Catholic Church, from Kenneth Walker to Dr. Radhakrishnan. He studied for four years under the great Jung and duly visited India. He drew knowledge freely from all religions and cultures, and when he reached his goal finally in the Christ of his childhood, he found the Christ of all mankind revealed by these diverse agencies.

Men do not need to strive for unity. Unity exists, in all its diversity, in the Hand of God. There is room for us all, no matter what our differences, in the protection of that all-embracing grasp, as there is for all of us in the mind of a man like Edward Thornton, who understands and trusts that grasp and shares its love for all that it holds. Conflict comes not from differences, which are desirable and necessary for our growth towards comprehension of the countless aspects of the Infinite. Conflict comes from ignorance of the essential help every difference in his brothers has to offer every man's own pitiful limitation.

The Diary of a Mystic can banish such ignorance. It is an authentic message for the world today; offered by a man who has lived as we do, with the same temptations, the same opportunities. It is a very human document, beautifully written and with extraordinary modesty.

D. S. MAXTED

Between Heaven and Earth: Adventures in Search of the Nature of Man. By PETER ANDREAS and GORDON ADAMS. (George G. Harrap and Co. Ltd., London. 160 pp. Illustrated. 1967. 21*s*.)

Aimed at a popular readership this book on *psi* phenomena and parapsychology examines briefly the history of psychic research and the various theories put forward, by Vassiliev, Gardner Murphy, Puharich, Rhine, and others, about the strange things recorded. These include telepathy, clairvoyance, precognition, telekinesis, communications, healings, and so on. The quest for proof of survival and the Churches' attitude to parapsychology also have chapters. Then, written in a more narrative vein, there are various case-histories, the two main ones being (1) the intriguing story of Colonel Fawcett (lost in Brazil while searching for evidence of Atlantis), as told through the automatic scripts of Geraldine Cummins; and (2) the Hulme and Wood research, through the medium "Rosemary," into communications (written and spoken), in ancient Egyptian and English, claimed to be from one of the wives of Amenhotep III.

Though the explanation of the phenomena is still not found, there are pointers, one helpful one being Gardner Murphy's field theory. Puharich suggests a "psi-plasma field" possessed by all material objects and living beings, in which all impressions are imprinted, and from which they can be noted, as in psychometry. This "unorthodox" idea is obviously an attempt to define in scientific terms what the Kabalists called "the astral light," the memory of nature. Further, it has been found that where participants have open minds, i.e., are sympathetic to the idea of *psi*, the test-success rate is high. The converse is also true. One researcher, Dr. Schmeidler, calls the first group "sheep" while the critical skeptics are "goats." This book will interest the enquiring "sheep."

L. MARR

The History of Philosophy in Islam. By T. J. DE BOER. Trs. by EDWARD R. JONES. (Dover Publications, Inc., New York. 216 pp. Republished 1967. $2.00)

Dr. De Boer's outline of the history of Islamic thought has been a recognized classic since its first publication in 1903. As the sad neglect of Muslim thinkers by historians of philosophy is an indisputable fact, the author could justly refer to his work as a "fresh initiation." Even today, when the field of Islamic philosophy is not such virgin soil as before, and sympathetic studies of Muslim thinkers are not wanting, the importance of De Boer's work is by no means diminished.

The writer's judgements are sound and the historical perspective is admirably balanced. He treats great theological and philosophical issues with surprising lucidity and manages to give in a short compass the basic doctrines and theories of the philosophers he is dealing with. But of course Islamic philosophers deserve a more detailed treatment. Though these philosophers are much involved in the Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic tradition, they are no servile commentators without originality or depth. They form a necessary link between the East and the West, and their philosophical reflections have prepared the ground for modern thought. Their influence on the medieval Schoolmen is yet to be investigated thoroughly. Though De Boer appreciates fully the remarkable genius of Ibn Khaldun as the first critic of history, his account is rather cursory and inadequate. But in spite of the limitations of his conceptual framework and the paucity of the material which was at his disposal he achieves substantial success in the presentation of a stream

of thought which is historically important and philosophically relevant.

The translation is spontaneous and unaffected.

Every student of Islamic thought must welcome this new and beautiful Dover edition of a valuable work.

S. VAHIDUDDIN

The Rubaiyyat of Omar Khayaam: A New Translation with Critical Commentaries by ROBERT GRAVES and OMAR ALI-SHAH. (Cassell, London. 86 pp. 1967. 21*s.*)*

Edward Fitzgerald's verse translation of the *Rubaiyyat* of Omar Khayaam has held the field for so long (i.e., over a century) that the new translators, Robert Graves and Omar Ali-Shah, have deemed it advisable to devote more than half their book to criticism of Fitzgerald and to a claim for the greater authenticity of their own version, as well as their closer adherence to the original text. Fitzgerald, they say with some conviction, was far from sound in scholarship, and his rendering of the *Rubaiyyat* is so inaccurate as to misrepresent the Persian poet:

> For four generations, indeed, by an evil paradox, Omar Khayaam's mystical poem has been erroneously accepted throughout the West as a drunkard's rambling profession of the hedonistic creed. ...

This new translation, based on an earlier manuscript than that used by Fitzgerald, is offered to the public as a standard edition of the *Rubaiyyat*, "freed at last of all the accretions, interpolations and misunderstandings." Since we are warned that the *Rubaiyyat* was clearly written for readers with a grounding in Sufi lore, to which it traditionally belongs, and I am not qualified to discuss Sufi or anti-Sufi interpretations of the original, I do not propose to take part in the argument. What I can say, however, is that if this new version has an enjoyable freshness, and a freedom from some of the clumsy constructions of Fitzgerald, on the whole and as poetry in its own right, it is unlikely to replace the older version.

HOWARD SERGEANT

VACAKA SRI JINAMANIKYAGANI'S *Ratnākarāvatārikādyaślokaśatārthī*. Edited by BECHARDAS J. DOSHI. (Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. 117 pp. 1967. Rs. 8.00)

In the history of Sanskrit literature, an inordinate love of pun and verbal acrostics characterizes the medieval period, which is sometimes described as the age of decadence. Poets vie with one another in startling Sanskrit pundits with their play upon words and twists given to thought. These ingenious and highly amazing exercises in word-play were often highly rewarded at courts and scholars thought their education incomplete without an ability to solve the puzzles set by poets.

One can get a first-hand picture of these startling intellectual games in the work under review, which is almost a masterpiece of its kind. Jinamāṇikya, a Jain scholar of the fifteenth century A.D., purports to explain one hundred meanings of the simple invocation of Jina at the commencement of Ratnaprabhasūri's *Ratnākarāvatārikā*. Drawing for support on quotations from rare lexical and grammatical literature, he splits the words in numerous ways and reads the required meanings into the text. The same verse is thus pressed to yield an invocation not only to all the twenty-four *Tīrthaṅkaras*, the five

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*The typography, paper, and presswork deserve a special word of commendation.

—ASST. ED.

Parameṣṭhins, the *guru*, the religion, etc., but also is made to allude to the Hindu trinity, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara, the Sun and the Moon, Pārvatī, like King, the torch, fire, the love-god, the cuckoo, the cloud, the mango tree, the neem tree, the wind, the night, and even the fire-fly.

The work is thus no more than a curio; the explanations are far-fetched to a degree, based mainly on multi-meanings of mere syllables; yet it gives an inner glimpse into the kind of intellectual pastime popular among scholars in medieval India. The editor deserves the thanks of the scholarly world for rescuing this unique work from the limbo of oblivion. Repeated misprints like "*Lallaṭa*" (p. viii) for "*Lollaṭa*" should have been avoided.

K. KRISHNAMOORTHY

Between Maule and Amazon. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. (Oxford University Press. 154 pp. 1967. 25*s*.)

In Dr. Toynbee we have a wise and distinguished guide to South America's vast spaces and diverse cultures, and an illuminating commentator on her current problems and on the future integration of Latin America. He makes a valuable point when, describing the State of Salvador, where the descendants of the slaves retain far more of their original culture than in the U.S.A., he suggests that Salvador "might become an important cultural link between the Western World and Negro Africa [which] would help to bring together these two great sections of mankind."

Vivid descriptions of the varied natural features of the huge continent, and of its agriculture, afforestation, sheep and cattle rearing, modern industries, etc., and of its older cities with their Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian architecture and strange amalgam of primitive religion and Roman Catholicism, make absorbing reading. Particularly interesting are the first four chapters describing the rapid creation of Brasília, the reigning capital of Brazil, and discussing the problem of harmony between buildings and scenery which will become ever more urgent as new cities spring up all the world over.

Analysing the relationship between man and Nature, which can be either fruitful co-operation or an impoverishing clash, Dr. Toynbee sees Nature's basic outer quality as "irregularity," whereas "man is a geometer" and as such has "seceded from Nature and set up a counter-kingdom of his own," distinguished by "straight lines, perfect circles, smooth surfaces, dead-flat planes."

Nature is an easy winner in the dense jungles which have obliterated so many of the Maya temples, and, as this lost civilization is still a mystery, the descriptions of the ruins are absorbing. Speculating as to the origin of these great buildings and reservoirs, Dr. Toynbee remarks: "We may save these monuments, but can we read their secret? This is the question that makes Middle American archaeology so fascinating a quest."

Two most interesting chapters on Mexico, one on "The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico" and one on "Indian America," deepen our impression of the enormous potential of this huge southern continent.

The book is illustrated with eight remarkably fine full-page photographs and two maps. Oxford University Press is to be congratulated on its printing and production.

JOAN N. BURNETT

Trade Union Leadership in India. By S. D. PUNEKAR and S. MADHURI. (Tata Institute of Social Sciences Series No. 16. Lalvani Publishing House. Bombay. 192 pp. 1967. Rs. 15.00)

This book investigates an aspect of the trade union movement in India, which has not hitherto received much attention — the pattern of its leadership in its different facets; the education, status, remuneration, motivation, and so on, of those who lead it.

This is interesting in the context of the wide-spread impression that union leaders are predominantly "outsiders" — viz., not industrial workers and that in consequence they are interested primarily in exploiting the workers for their own ends and that a considerable number of industrial disputes and strikes witnessed in different States are engineered by this outside leadership. The study, necessarily limited to Bombay, Maharashtra, and Gujarat, and referring only broadly to some other regions, serves to some extent to confirm this impression. For example, in the three areas referred to, 27.9, 28.4, and 59.4 per cent, respectively, of the union leaders are outsiders and a majority of those who arranged the questionnaire of the investigating team preferred a substantial reduction of this type of leadership.

Another interesting finding of the study is that trade union movement in India is by and large "weak" or at least much less strong than in many other industrially developed countries. This is attributed mainly to the prevailing illiteracy among workers and their dependence for guidance on those who have come to positions of leadership.

Trade unionism in India should still be considered as groping to find its feet, to decide on the methods and means by which it could achieve its legitimate and desirable objectives. But recent developments in States like West Bengal, Kerala, and some others have bread the apprehension that it is assuming bizarre forms, which, far from conforming to the pattern in advanced democratic countries, indicate a predilection towards totalitarianism. This trend can be reversed only when the leadership pattern changes.

C. V. H. RAO

Ends and Sayings

"... ends of verse
And sayings of philosophers."

—SAMUEL BUTLER: *Hudibras*

Six recent heart transplants in different parts of the world have provided sensational matter, strongly played up by press, radio and TV. For those, however, who recognize that the body is not a mere machine, with replaceable parts, but that it is a compound, a kingdom, of sentient intelligences, imprinted, so to say, with their owner and ruler's special characteristics, such transplants of organs — like blood transfusions — are an invasion by an alien power, and no amount of forced "pacification" is going to right the wrong done. These processes of transfer and transfusion are akin to what in the past would have been bluntly called "sorcery." Some may argue that such operations are done with the motive of saving life and are therefore good. Yet, the case of the sole survivor of all the transplants mentioned is worth examining. In South Africa, where apartheid laws segregate White and Black races,

White surgeons and a White patient were yet willing to use and accept the heart of a young Negro, accidentally killed, for the transplant. Of what mixed race is the recipient to be considered now?

The case has raised many controversies. Some surgeons have considered the procedure unethical, because premature. Some have approved. There has been much questioning about the need for assurance that the donor is really "dead," since an organ must be appropriated as soon after death as possible. What the exact moment of death is, is another moot point. Men like Sir George Pickering, Regius Professor of Medicine, Oxford University, and Dr. Edmund Leach, of King's College, Cambridge, have pointed out the vast potentialities for ill, and the "entirely intolerable blessing" that could be produced by the widespread application of transplantation, the elimination of disease, and the retarding indefinitely of the important and useful function of death. Professor Peter Beaconsfield, an American surgeon working at two London hospitals, indicates that the need is rather for research into heart conditions that will benefit more people. He adds:

> We are in desperate need of a new and workable philosophy to guide medical progress in a time in which our powers now exceed our wisdom (*The Observer*, 21 January 1968).

As a postscript to the case, it may be noted that, though the patient went home (16 March 1968) the operating surgeon has admitted that the new heart was damaged (maybe permanently) during January, when the body attempted to reject it (*The Observer*, 17 March 1968). In fact, reports say it has failed to adjust itself to exercise, so that strenuous movement is impossible for the patient. "Some reports say that his life expectancy is no greater now than it was before the operation" (*The Observer*, 10 March 1968).

Further comment seems needless, except to regret the values that make men seek for bodily life *at any cost*. And those who are convinced of the reality of reincarnation and *Karma* see the sad story in longer perspective — holding that we must ourselves make the readjustment, some time, somewhere, in some new body, for past misuse of the elements of our nature, both physical and psychological. Death is not to be feared, but comes as a release and a sleep before we pick up again the lessons of life, in another frame compounded of the old elements.

Commenting on the number of animals (over 400,000) compulsorily slaughtered during the recent epidemic of foot-and-mouth disease in Britain, John Grigg points out (*The Guardian*, 29 February 1968) that the routine slaughter of animals "to satisfy the carnivorous appetite of the British people" is "*every month* an average of 321,000 cattle, 1,130,000 sheep, and 1,125,000 pigs," and, as for poultry, the figures for September 1967 reached nearly 16,000,000.

Will our descendants, he writes, look upon our present uncivilized heartlessness, with the same "incredulous disgust" with which we view the barbarous customs of past centuries? Nevertheless, not even ridicule can undermine that innate sense that many feel, "the reasoning of the heart," that tells us of our kinship with animals as living, sentient beings. Relatively few, indeed, are, as yet, prepared to accept vegetarianism as a way of life. Too often the desire-nature makes its demands, and the obedient mind produces reasons why meat-eating is necessary, or why it is not yet the time to change the pattern of slaughter and the general treatment of the animal kingdom. Mr. Grigg ends with some vital questions:

> Vegetarianism is not the most urgent of good causes, but a good cause it undoubtedly is. Why, then, do so few march under its

banner? ... Whereas the nuclear holocaust may never occur, hecatombs of innocent fellow-creatures are occurring every day. Is the preservation of animal life not a more suitable campaigning issue for "liberals" than the destruction of human embryos *for the convenience of the living*?

The italics are ours. Mr. Grigg speaks like the true voice of conscience. How often does the value that we give to the gratification of our little "self" distort and obliterate the value-scale of the needs of other living "selves" who share the world with us! The problems of the balance of population and food are intimately connected. Man, as a ratiocinative being, upsets the ecology of nature, until he replaces selfish desire with heart-wisdom.

Two encouraging events in London indicate an increased public demand for more natural food production. *Span* (Soil Association News, March 1968) reports that an agreement was made in January 1968 between the Soil Association and Messrs. T. J. Poupart, one of the leading distributors of fruit and vegetables at Covent Garden wholesale market, London, that the latter will market organically-grown produce. Till now, only a limited number of shops have sold it, but a very large estimated market for compost food without sprays will make it possible to enlarge the scale of distribution, make it more economically efficient, and bring down the price to consumers. In early March, Remcon International, a Health Foods Exhibition, was organized by *Here's Health,* the Journal of Nutrition, at the impressive new Royal Lancaster Hotel, London. It was packed out, on the one day it was open to the public, and received ample publicity from the press — e.g., *The Guardian* (13 March 1968) devoted two whole pages to the subject.

This seems part of the growing revulsion against the unnatural modes of life associated with technology, industrialization, and city life generally. Jonathon Aitken (*Evening Standard*, 11–14 March 1968) has made an intimidating survey called "Hell Is a City." He cites the results, found by various official and academic research centres, of overcrowding, of air and water pollution, of the cacophony of noise, the stress and strain of commuter transport, the distractions of flashing lights and visual signs demanding thousands of brain decisions daily, and the many other city tensions that damage the physical body just as much as a burn or wound. Unhappily, the most important effects of environmental pollutants only show decades afterwards, mainly in late adulthood. The expectancy of life from the age of forty-five has not increased significantly anywhere in the world, especially not among the prosperous social groups of the industrialized communities. Three following articles deal with New York, Los Angeles, Montreal, and Sydney, the last two having, apparently, some hope of better adjustment. The series makes it clear that the so-called "developing" countries have no need to envy, and certainly should not emulate, the indiscriminate dedication to technology at the cost of humanity to which the metropolitan civilizations have fallen victim.

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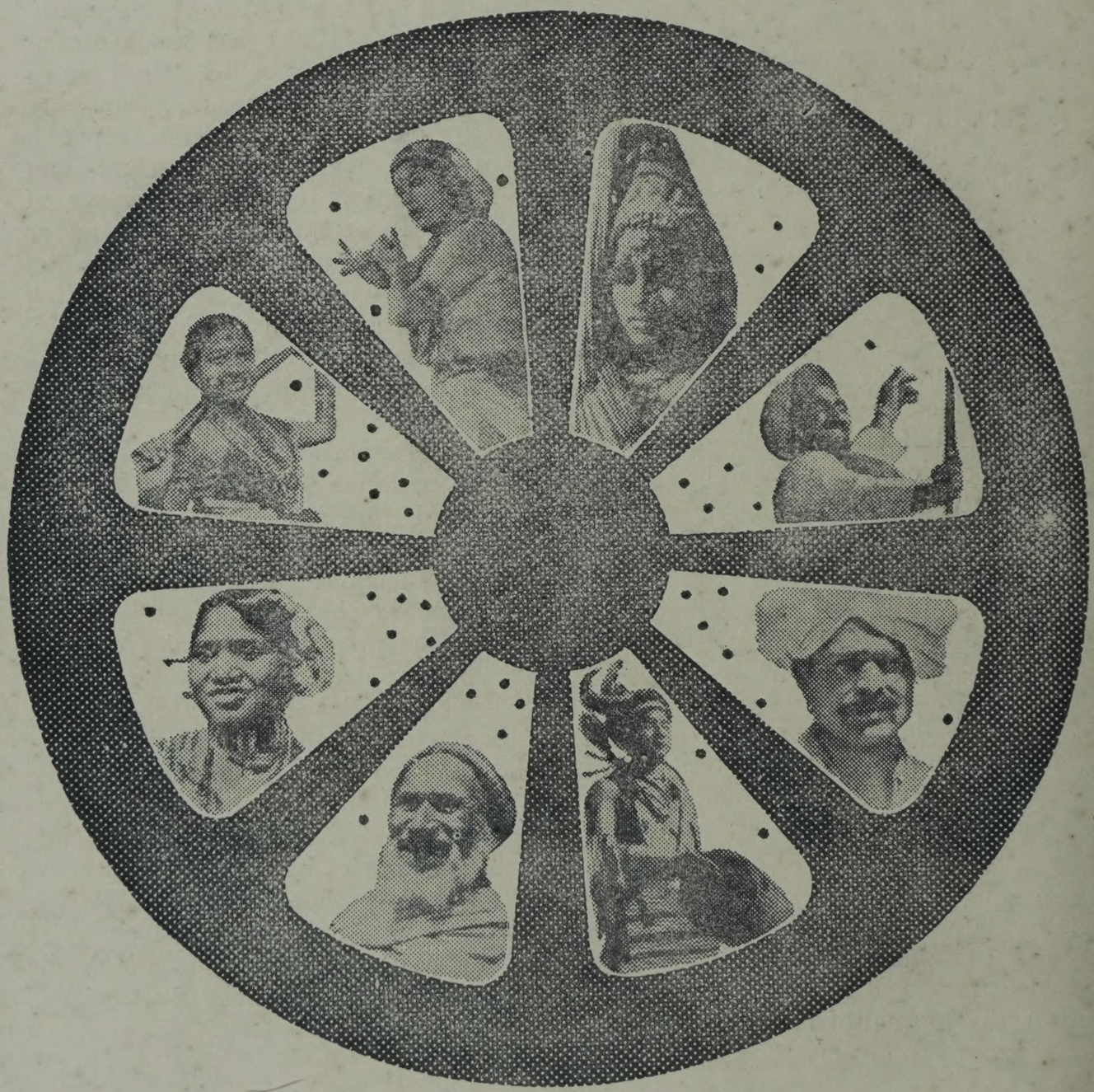

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